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FORTY YOUNG PAROLEES

A FOLLOW-UP STUDY

OF A SMALL SELECTED GROUP OF FORMER TRAINING SCHOOL PAROLEES
WITH EMPHASIS ON THE HONORABLE DISCHARGE
AS A TECHNIQUE IN PAROLE WORK

A Thesis

submitted by

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(S.Sc.B., Boston University, 1939)

in partial fulfilment of requirements for
the degree of Master of Science in Social Service

1941

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PREFACE

The writer wishes to acknowledge at the outset of this study those persons who have made it possible, who have contributed materially to it in a variety of ways and without whose invaluable assistance and contributions it could not have been brought to a successful conclusion.

The writer is especially indebted to the Boys' Parole Department of the Massachusetts Training Schools for making available to the writer their records. Mr. C. Frederick Gilmore, Superintendent, has been especially interested and helpful. To Mr. Emanuel Borenstein, Parole Visitor and Supervisor, the writer owes his greatest personal gratitude because his kindly supervision and suggestions have been inspirations.

To the Gluecks the writer wishes to acknowledge his gratitude for so many of their books which were of basic value in this particular study, for the writer has drawn freely from their methods and findings. Mrs. Glueck, Mrs. Mildred P. Cunningham and Mr. Ralph Whelan of the Glueck social research staff are given special thanks for their helpful hints and personal discussion of certain knotty problems in connection with the field investigations and personal interviews.

The writer wishes to express his appreciation for the aid given him by the Social Service Index of Boston, the Massachusetts Board of Probation, welfare officials, numerous social agencies and police departments.

Mrs. Edith M. H. Baylor very generously gave her permission to use and adapt for the purposes of this study the Children's Aid Association's Follow-Up Schedule which adaptation has been used exclusively. She was also most helpful in interpreting the schedule to the writer. Dr. Jennette R. Gruener has been of invaluable assistance in the preparation of statistical tables and in objectifying the methods and findings.

The Parole Visitors have been most cooperative and helpful.

Above all, the writer wishes to give special thanks to Mrs. Mildred S. Cheever, a constant helpmate and consultant in all problems connected with the study and without whose efficient stenographic help this bit of research would never have been completed in time.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

The theory of parole is that most individuals ordinarily arrive at a stage in their institutionalization when further stay in the institution will be of less value both to them and the public than a period spent in supervised freedom in the community. The intermediate stage of limited oversight between absolute control in an institution and absolute freedom in the community is thus, in a sense, a testing-ground of the individual's capacity to stand on his own feet after all restraint is removed. It also affords an opportunity to aid the offender in making the always difficult adjustment of the transitional period between institution life and life in the community. Consequently, adequate supervision of the parolee is of the utmost significance in the administration of such a service. Doubtless very imperfect parole oversight has something to do with the poor behavior of parolees in supervised freedom.¹

Barring some unusual catastrophe, release from the care of the Boys' Parole Department on Honorable Discharge should constitute a challenge rather than a temptation. This would seem to call for the most careful study, as well as understanding of the boy thus singled out on the part of the person recommending the Honorable Discharge.

¹ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Later Criminal Careers (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1937), p. 5.

Purpose:

In making this particular study we ask ourselves a number of questions since many problems are involved. A few of the specific things that we have asked ourselves are: 1. Why is such a study desirable and necessary? In answer to this we point out that there is a decided lack of study in connection with the work and the quality of the work of the Massachusetts Training Schools in general. 2. What of the Honorable Discharge versus the Automatic Discharge as a technique in juvenile parole work? Has it worked well or has it worked at all? Can we really evaluate the effectiveness of the use of the Honorable Discharge with only forty boys in such a study as this present one? Here we must point out that since one of the visitors who has retired handled a great many of the cases and has not been available for consultation it would not be fair to say we have evaluated in any complete or scientific manner the use of the Honorable Discharge among these boys. Again it would seem that, because these forty boys were selected from a limited area which is predominantly urban, since it embraces the largest city in the State and some of the larger Greater Boston communities, the cases studied might possibly be open to questionability so far as their representativeness is concerned. In other words by selecting urban boys in Boston Proper and in Greater Boston the quality of the sample and, therefore, its representativeness might not be acceptable to a great many scientific thinkers in the field. We must admit,

after all, that the real weakness of this study is the small number of boys studied, hence the small number of figures which seem to occur in several places under one or more categories. 3. Finally, should not parole of juvenile offenders be tested by studies such as this one? Theories must be developed and put into practice if parole work is to meet the ever increasing requirements placed upon it today. We cannot discover whether theory is substantiated by practice and visa versa without making scientific studies which will evaluate and determine the effectiveness and needs of either theory or practice.

It is hoped that, by means of this five-year follow-up survey and study of forty former parolees from the Massachusetts Training Schools, partial evaluation of the effectiveness of the Honorable Discharge as a technique of juvenile parole work, as well as an evaluation of the work of the Boys' Parole Department will be possible. This will also necessitate an evaluation of the relative favorability of adjustment of these boys to life's situations in general. The Conclusions and Suggestions will be substantiated by the findings produced in the study.

Scope:

Forty former juvenile parolees are studied here. Twenty of these were formerly at the State Industrial School for Boys at Shirley and twenty were formerly at the Lyman School for

Boys. Each group of twenty is subdivided into two groups of ten each—ten Honorably Discharged former parolees and ten Automatically Discharged. The average age of these forty persons is now twenty-six years.

The men selected for study were, as parolees, living in Boston Proper and in Greater Boston, that is, within not more than ten miles from Boston Proper.

Our study includes pre-commitment histories of the boys and their families, follow-up findings based on both criminal and non-criminal conduct and evaluations of adjustment in relation to these forms of conduct. No illustrative case materials or sketches have been used, since the material in the eighteen statistical Tables, the discussions in connection with these and our concluding discussion furnish ample material for this type of research. Chapter II. gives some brief sketches of field investigation problems but this is done chiefly for the benefit of future research in this field of endeavor.

Method:

1. The cases to be studied were selected on the basis of age, geographical distribution and population. Selection was also made to coincide with relative delinquency rates in each geographical area. About twenty-two boys were from Boston Proper while eighteen were from the suburbs. The sample was as representative as could be expected when one considered the

small number of Honorable Discharges in one year in Boston Proper and Greater Boston.

2. Next, the Schedule was prepared in order to assemble the material desired for the purposes of our study. From these Schedules came the data for the formation of the recording of pertinent material in Tables, for the basis of interpretation and discussion of both factual and analytical material.

3. All forty cases were next cleared through the Boston Social Service Index.

4. The records of all men were checked at the Board of Probation.

5. In every case a personal field investigation was carried through. This meant tracing addresses of the men, tracking them down, consulting social agencies and their records, police officials and bureaus of investigation. In thirty cases the men themselves were seen and interviewed personally. In ten cases, where the men were at sea, in the Army, out-of-state or in correctional institutions, the immediate family was seen as well as the neighbors for cross-checking. Many letters were sent to and received from out-of-town officials in this investigation. Mrs. Glueck and her Field Investigators were consulted, personally, for helpful suggestions and objectifying data, for this is the methodology the Gluecks use in their researches or follow-ups.

6. Forty records at the Boys' Parole Department and fifty records at other social agencies were read to coincide with the field work.

7. When the Field Investigation was completed, the various data were recorded by means of transferring them from the Schedules, which had been kept up-to-date, to statistical Tables in Chapters III. and IV.

8. Various books by the Gluecks, Healy and Bronner, one by Morris, one by Baylor-Monachesi, several pamphlets and reports and special articles dealing with parole and delinquency as well as other books on related subjects were read in order to objectify the writer's thinking. Young's text on Scientific Social Surveys and Research was used to good advantage.

9. Hence—the case-study and statistical methods were combined with the five-year follow-up personal interview field and home investigation.

10. Tables were constructed far in advance—to accommodate the data on the Schedules. The statistical chapters were written first, then the Conclusions and Recommendations and last, the Preface, Introduction, Chapter II., and so on.

Definitions:

All definitions have been properly given in the body of the Thesis as they have occurred, with the two following exceptions:

Honorable Discharge from the Boys' Parole Department

meant that the boys must have done exceptionally well for at least several years and must have been at least 19 to 20 years of age to be eligible for recommendation of Honorable Discharge by their Parole Visitor.

Automatic Discharge: This was applied to the cases of those boys (who are far in the majority) who were Automatically Discharged at twenty-one having reached their majority. In the opinion of their Parole Visitor their conduct while on parole had not been sufficiently meritorious to deserve consideration for Honorable Discharge.

Massachusetts Training Schools²

1. Lyman School for Boys, established 1846, is located at Westborough, 32 miles from Boston. An open institution, organized on the cottage system, for boys under fifteen years of age at the time of commitment. The inmates live in thirteen cottages, two of which, located away from the rest of the institution, are used for boys requiring special care and supervision. Normal capacity of the school 480. Academic and industrial training given. Commitments are for minority. In 1869 the Massachusetts legislature authorized the placement of children from this School. It has several outstanding fea-

² Massachusetts Training Schools, Annual report of the Trustees of the Massachusetts Training Schools for the Year Ending November 30, 1938, and, Emanuel Borenstein, "Release of the Child from the Institution," New York: National Probation Association, 1940 Yearbook, pp. 15-16 of Reprint.

tures in its program. After a period of orientation during which time the boy is checked by a well qualified staff member a program is arranged for him and is based upon his particular needs rather than upon the institution's maintenance requirements. Discussions are held with the boy both individually and in groups so that he may learn the purpose of the institution, the program and how he may secure the most help from his stay. A separate cottage with a small farm attached is located at Berlin, eight miles from the main institution for the training of a limited group of the younger and more hopeful boys. Another separate group is situated about a half a mile away from the rest of the buildings at the main institution. This is Riverview Cottage and houses the unstable, the psychopathic and some of the feeble-minded who carry on practically all their activities by themselves under a simple regime without the pressure to which they would be subjected if they were part of the larger group. Vocational training is conducted entirely on a production basis, that is, the boys gain satisfaction out of producing something of value as a finished product. Much of the printing for the State Department of Public Welfare is done in the Lyman School Print Shop by boys who are learning the trade.

2. Industrial School for Boys, established 1908, is located at Shirley, 40 miles from Boston. An open institution, organized on the cottage system, for boys from fifteen to

eighteen years of age at the time of commitment. The inmates live in ten cottages. Normal capacity of the school, 319. Academic and industrial training given, the emphasis being placed on the practical teaching of trades. Commitments are for minority. The School endeavors to redirect and reeducate boys within a limited period, and it has been increasingly successful in its attempt. The task is made doubly difficult by the calibre of the boy coming to the School; personality defects seem exaggerated and poor attitudes are exceptionally common. "A general apathy—physical, mental and moral—and a marked increase in feeble-mindedness, are characteristic of many present-day commitments." To provide a treatment program for these boys, the School organizes itself for purposes of guidance into groups dealing primarily with academic education, vocational and occupational education, social education (including home life, music, dramatics and recreation), religious education and personal counselling. This set-up makes for a definitely educational program designed to teach boys to live together, work together, and play together and differs from an ordinary educational program only in its degree of intensity, concentration and breadth of viewpoint. Character education is one of the prime objectives at this School. The cottage system is based on a careful grouping of boys on a personality basis and offers the opportunity for teaching them how to live together harmoniously and with re-

spect for the rights, privileges and property of their cottage mates. Wholesome programs for using leisure time and for athletic activities are fostered, sponsored and encouraged.

In Massachusetts we have a more or less autonomous Division of Juvenile Training within the State Department of Public Welfare. This Division has five branches and includes the Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster (which is not concerned in this study), the Industrial School for Boys at Shirley, Lyman School for Boys at Westboro, the Girls' Parole Branch, and the Boys' Parole Branch. Each of these five sections works independently under the supervision of its own Superintendent, but they are coordinated and harmonized by the Executive Secretary and the Board of Trustees of the Division.

If the Parole Visitor has not had any previous contacts his work on a particular case begins as soon as the boy is committed to a Training School. In securing information for the social history or the First Home Report, the Parole Visitor begins the treatment process. He starts by interpreting the institution and its program to the family, by influencing family attitudes, and by assuming the role of outside contact man between the institution and the family. In interviewing school teachers, social workers, and other persons for background information, he lays the basis for future cooperation between all parties concerned. This is, of course, the ideal

set-up. Ideally, also, the Parole Visitor should assist the boy's family when it needs material help and in effecting a redirection of its interests and a reorientation of its attitudes. The Parole Visitor sees the boy at the institution in order to develop a close relationship with him since he will be the Parole Visitor's ward upon release from the institution. In the meantime the Visitor discusses future plans with the boy and with the family and does his best to remedy conditions and to prepare everyone for the child's return to a better home and to a better community. Upon release from the Training School a boy is placed in the care and custody of his Parole Visitor who supervises him, visits his family, school, etc., and requires periodic visits on the boy's part. The most active phase of the Parole Visitor's job begins after the boy is released from the Training School. Unless the boy is granted an Honorable Discharge before he reaches his majority, he is under the care, custody and supervision of the Boys' Parole Department until he is 21 years of age.

CHAPTER II, FIELD INVESTIGATION PROBLEMS

As we started forth for our personal interviews after several weeks of basic "ground work", we had many questions in our minds not the least of which were:

1. What if they (the men studied) have moved since the last known address and are unknown to any local social agency—what then?
2. How find out about men who may be out-of-state, on boats, etc.?
3. What if the man is naturally prejudiced against all such investigators and investigations? How get him to talk and really give some information?
4. How check on the information given by man, his wife or family?
5. Can we see the men without their wives knowing about the reasons? Do their wives know about their past careers? How get around this difficulty?
6. What if the men want to forget and refuse to see us at all?
7. How evaluate their present status? Has there been a decrease in criminal behavior, court appearances, seriousness of crimes and misdemeanors and an increase in constructive personal adjustment, economic and social status and in ability of the man to depend on himself? How catch all these

items in a brief interview; how get any idea as to these things were the men out-of-state?

Here are a few ways in which most of these difficulties were overcome:

1. One man couldn't be traced because his father was suspicious and would give no reliable information. After much checking here and there, we finally went to the local welfare department where his father was on relief, found that our man drove a taxi and then communicated with Police Headquarters where his latest address was listed in connection with his hackney license. We interviewed the man at that address that same day.

2. Several out-of-state men were checked on by writing State Boards of Probation, by writing outside social agencies and, as a last resort in some instances, by asking the Federal Bureau of Investigation to check up. Families of these men and neighbors and social agencies were found to be most helpful.

3. One man who was known to be prejudiced against the parole department was left a note, asking him to telephone such-and-such a number in connection with a special medical survey. (In all instances the medical or health approach was used and no allusion was ever made to parole or Training Schools. By the medical or health approach we mean that all the questions which we asked any former parolee were in ref-

erence to his health and physical condition for the past twelve years. That is, we stated that "At Boston University we are making a medical check-up on a selected group of persons who about twelve years ago were examined in Greater Boston schools by various doctors and you are one of those persons selected for our medical study." By asking each person such questions as, "How has your general health been in the past twelve years and how is it now? Has your health enabled you to work these past five year? Occupation is very important in determining health so what kind of work have you been doing and has your health enabled you to work steadily at your occupation?" we were able to secure, indirectly to be sure, the information which we needed for our study.) Sure enough, he did telephone and later we saw each other in a local drugstore and had a fine chat on "medical" subjects over hot chocolate!

4. Information given by man or his family was cross-checked at local relief or social agencies and in many cases neighbors were consulted in a roundabout manner.

5. If a wife was present when first contact was made, an attempt was made to see the man alone at a restaurant or at a local settlement. In some instances we were lucky enough to find the man in on a Saturday afternoon—alone with the baby! In one instance a man was seen in a corner barroom where he sipped beer while the interviewer ate chocolate bars. This was a most successful interview.

6. If men were impossible to see (only one was in our research--that is, those around Boston) we checked very thoroughly with his family, local stores, neighbors, police stations, fire houses, social agencies and in this one case with his priest. The medical approach was of course used here, as in all other cases.

7. One man was most difficult to see. We had checked every other source of information but had not seen him personally. One afternoon we called at his sister's where we had been once before. She had invited us back to talk over her baby's crying spells! She was about to leave for the Arsenal where her husband worked and where her brother--our man--also worked. She was taking him his driver's license. On the chance that our man might be nearby, we went along with her and sure enough, at the gate, together, were our man and her husband! She broke the ice, so to speak, and a very successful interview was had as the man and the Field Investigator walked down the street to the carline discussing the man's "health".

CHAPTER III.

FAMILY BACKGROUND: PRE-TRAINING SCHOOL HISTORY OF BOY AND HIS FAMILY

The family in its physical and psychological aspects provides the individual's first environment. To this environment he owes his early attitudes and behavior patterns. By providing satisfactions and a frame of reference, the family comes to determine to a considerable extent the individual's reactions to others. By denying satisfactions and by conditioning him to unacceptable behavior patterns, it may also lay the foundations of a maladjusted personality. Thus it is important in any study of individuals to analyze their family backgrounds for clues that may explain behavior. This analysis should be concerned primarily with understanding the nature of the culture to which the individual is conditioned, since it is through such an understanding that it is possible to arrive, in many instances, at the source of behavior, early attitudes and basic habit-patterns of individuals.

In general in the modern world, and especially in the Euro-American world, homogeneity in culture is non-existent. Persons living in this (Euro-American) area of culture are constantly subjected to a variety of "culture complexes,"¹ and these "complexes" are by no means even remotely consistent.

1 "Culture complex". The functional clustering or grouping of traits around a central or core trait. Traits are elementary units of culture.

The individual who comes under the influence of these complexes sometimes becomes maladjusted; this maladjustment is usually one in which he does not possess a consistent life pattern and the net result is a vacillating or ambivalent individual. Such an individual is called personally disorganized. Contradictions within the culture are thus reflected in the behavior of the personally disorganized individual. For example, a boy may be a pious and faithful adherent to a particular religion because his father and mother insist on it. This piety may be expressed in a variety of ways. He may, in the presence of his parents, refrain from swearing, he may submit to attending church services, he may participate in religious activity in a manner pleasing to his parents. This same boy, however, may belong to a neighborhood play group and engage in activities completely at odds with his religious training. His status and prestige in reference to his play-fellows may depend upon the richness of his swearing vocabulary, and his ability to poke fun at pious individuals in a variety of ways inconsistent with the religion of his parents. Conflicts in the demands of the groups to which the individual belongs lead to conflicts within him unless he has been able to build within himself a rigid frame of reference to which he may adhere, and consequently accomodate opposing demands. Few individuals, however, can make this accomodation without suffering some conflict, and in many this conflict

itself leads to disastrous results.

Thus, the importance of studying problem children in relation to the demands put upon them by the groups to which they belong becomes apparent. Because of the limited nature of this inquiry, the only group, as such, that can be profitably studied and analyzed here is the human family. The family is the most important group to which a child belongs; hence a study of the individual necessitates an analysis of his family background. Students of behavior problems have given considerable attention to the human family, and have made numerous studies of the economic condition, housing facilities, occupational status, marital status, etc., of families of particular types of children. In many instances these factors have been studied as abstract entities, with little appreciation of the fact that they are meaningless unless they are referred to the totality of the situation in which they operate. Poverty in itself has little significance unless it is related to the behavior patterns and attitudes that are associated with it. Then, too, in this connection it must be remembered that the behavior of an individual has significance only in reference to the approval or disapproval that his fellowmen place upon it. All behavior must, therefore, be studied from the group point of view and membership in a variety of groups may result in diversity of behavior in the individual. The approval he is able to obtain by

behaving in a specific manner is dependent upon the groups to which he belongs. Recognition of this fact is particularly necessary in all attempts to modify behavior.

How often, however, do social workers belonging to the so-called respectable stratum of human society appreciate the relative nature of right or wrong? Often they are called upon to handle delinquent children who, in general, belong to groups with a different definition of right and wrong. The social worker and the child stand on opposite brinks of a chasm; and unless the social worker appreciates the cultural aspects of behavior, his contacts with the delinquent result in antagonism and conflict.²

An awareness of the cultural aspects of human behavior has many ramifications in the entire juvenile parole process. Such an appreciation would make some of the present parole procedures serious undertakings. Frequently in relieving what seems an undesirable situation, the way may be paved for future maladjustments. To be sure, the problem of the moment may be satisfactorily solved at least for the social worker involved, but the child's future life may be jeopardized.

What may happen after a change is made should be important at the time the change is made. Children from one culture pattern should not be shifted about and placed in different culture patterns, for this may intensify the already existing

² Maurine Boie, "The Case Worker's Need for Orientation to the Culture of the Client," The Family, vol. xviii, October 1937, pp. 197-204.

antagonisms and conflicts.³

To be sure, a study of the human family to ascertain the family interrelations, attitudes, antagonisms, and so on, in order to discover the early attitudes and basic habit patterns established in the child is as important as, and in many cases more important than, a study of the cultural aspects of human behavior. In our study we are not trying to over-emphasize the importance of the cultural aspects of human behavior; rather we are trying throughout to combine the importance of the cultural aspects with the importance of early attitudes and basic habit patterns and in no instance do we infer that any one consideration is more important than the others. We believe irrevocably in the multiplicity of causation of delinquency and misconduct in children, and prefer to integrate every possible factor into a contributory picture rather than placing undue importance upon any one single aspect.

Along with our study of culture patterns, family groups and family interrelationships, we shall make a study of the individual boy who was subsequently committed to one of the Massachusetts Training Schools and released upon parole in the community after spending the required amount of time at the School. This study of family backgrounds and individual

³ These first four pages of Chapter III. quoted rather freely from Mrs. Edith M. H. Baylor and Elio D. Monachesi, The Rehabilitation of Children (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939), pp. 77-79.

behavior is centered around the time of commitment; in the cases of the Lyman School boys this period would be, on the average, around 1928, or thirteen (13) years ago, and in the cases of the Shirley School boys, around 1931, or ten (10) years ago. By comparing the conduct and adjustments of these boys during the period of—and prior to—commitment with their present adjustment, as of March 15, 1941, approximately five (5) years after discharge from Boys' Parole supervision and care, we hope to be able to detect and evaluate their relative improvement, unimprovement or questionability of improvement (an in-between ranking) up to the present time, with emphasis, of course, upon the five-year post-parole period.

Table I. seems pertinent to our study because contributing to if not underlying the maladjustments in home and environment of many boys whose parents were foreign-born are the serious conflicts of cultures, originating in part in the bewilderment of a child caught between the contending influences of the Old World and America. Often a confusion of loyalties is inevitable with the recurring question in a boy's mind as to whether he is Italian or American, Russian or American, and so on. He is not clear in regard to authority, senses insecurity, becomes bewildered, and, seeking an escape, follows the impulse of the moment.⁴

4 Ibid, p. 85.

TABLE I.
NATIVITY OF PARENTS

Birthplace	Lyman Hon.Aut.		Shirley Hon.Aut.		Totals Hon.Aut.		Grand
Both American	2	3	3	3	5	6	11
One American-one foreign			3		3		3
Both foreign born	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>26</u>
	10	10	10	10	20	20	40

At a glance we can see that over two-thirds of the boys studied are offspring of parents, both of whom were foreign born, with those boys who were not Honorably Discharged slightly more in this percentage. It is interesting to note that the honors are pretty evenly divided in the "both American" group, with the older, or Shirley boys, doing a bit better so far as Honorable Discharge is concerned. The possibility of conflict of culture in the boys of foreign-born parents, if this may be considered a large factor in and underlying delinquent behavior, is strikingly apparent in this table.

It is interesting to note in connection with Table I. that a check at the Boys' Parole Department on figures of Nativity of Parents of parolees for 1930-1940 bear out the figures in Table I. and just about duplicate the percentages found here.

TABLE II.
ORIGINAL PROBLEMS OF BOYS AT TIME OF
COMMITMENT TO TRAINING SCHOOLS

Problems ⁵	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon. Aut.		Hon. Aut.		Hon. Aut.		Grand
Family and Home	10	10	10	10	20	20	40
Behavior	10	10	9	10	19	20	39
Personality	10	10	10	10	20	20	40
Health	3	3		4	3	7	10

5 Problems defined: Family and Home: Broken home, because of desertion, separation, illness or death of the parents. This includes both temporary and permanent disruption. Moral and physical neglect of children by parents. Crowded, poorly kept home in a poor neighborhood. Dissention in the home. Incompatible parents. Poverty in the home. Poorly supervised home and children. Family delinquency. Intemperance of parents. Low moral standards. Poor use of family's leisure time. Cultural conflict between children and parents or relatives, etc.

Behavior: Includes irregular sex habits, perversions, pathological lying, enuresis, persistent truancy, temper tantrums, cruelty, destruction of property, stealing, bunking out, arson, etc.

Personality: "Peculiar", abnormal, decidedly sub-normal, "psychopathic", etc. make-up of the individual, which traits are strikingly expressed in the individual's behavior and behavior pattern. Mental condition largely underlies personality difficulty. For examples of personality problems refer to Table VII.

Health: Regular or special medical attention needed, which the parent or guardian is unable to provide. Health problems include malnutrition, heart troubles, severe injuries which disfigure or debilitate, poor vision, chronic ear and other organic complaints, T.B. of various sorts, neurological diseases, severe head injuries which leave their mark in boy's behavior and personality, general constitutional weaknesses because of poor heredity, severe ill-

Here, we have grouped in one table the four major types of individual problems as they existed in each boy at the time of his commitment to the Training School. The figures speak for themselves but an explanation of the size of the figures in the first three categories seems desirable. Each boy's problem, whether he had all four problems or just two, or three, was tabulated in its proper place. For this reason in Table II. and in some of the succeeding Tables the figures may seem to be out of proportion to the forty boys studied. Our interpretation and analysis of all the figures, however, should make any unusually large figures comprehensible. Family and home problems seem directly interrelated so one category for both is made of these. Some authorities, such as Mrs. Edith M. H. Baylor and Professor Elio D. Monachesi, in their recent study, "Rehabilitation of Children", are prone to consider personality and behavior problems as one classification, so closely integrated and interrelated as to be inseparable. This may very well be true, but for the purposes of this study it seems best to make personality and behavior problems separate entities at the same time recognizing their very interrelated character.

The findings as recorded in Table II. indicate the fol-

5 (Cont.) nesses, etc.
 (These definitions taken from: Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Later Criminal Careers, Appendix B, "Definition of Terms"; Mrs. Edith M.H. Baylor and Elio D. Monachesi, The Rehabilitation of Children, pp. 412-465; plus writer's own observations and interpretations)

lowing:

1. Of the forty (40) boys studied, 39, or over 97% suffered from the three major problems—family and home, behavior, and personality. These three appear to be quite definitely inseparable in the many problems which beset delinquent youth.

2. Only one boy—an Honorably Discharged Shirley boy later on—had only family and personality difficulties (hence the nine (9) in the Shirley Honorable section).

3. No boy had but one single problem.

4. Health problems, which in every case were coupled up with the other three major problems, were suffered by ten (10) of the 40 boys. The percentage of boys in this category was 25%— $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole group. Would it be safe to say that health plays a very important part in the multiplicity of delinquent causations?

Needless to say, those boys who suffered from fewer problems at the time of Training School commitment have almost invariably made better adjustments to life's situations to March 15, 1941.

1000

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general
discussion of the problem. It is shown that the
problem is of great importance in the theory of
differential equations. The second part is devoted to
the study of the properties of the solutions of the
problem. It is shown that the solutions of the
problem are unique and that they depend continuously
on the data of the problem. The third part is devoted
to the study of the asymptotic properties of the
solutions of the problem. It is shown that the
solutions of the problem have a certain asymptotic
expansion. The fourth part is devoted to the study
of the numerical properties of the solutions of the
problem. It is shown that the solutions of the
problem can be computed with a certain accuracy.
The fifth part is devoted to the study of the
stability properties of the solutions of the problem.
It is shown that the solutions of the problem are
stable with respect to the data of the problem.
The sixth part is devoted to the study of the
sensitivity properties of the solutions of the problem.
It is shown that the solutions of the problem are
sensitive to the data of the problem. The seventh
part is devoted to the study of the robustness
properties of the solutions of the problem. It is
shown that the solutions of the problem are robust
with respect to the data of the problem. The eighth
part is devoted to the study of the convergence
properties of the solutions of the problem. It is
shown that the solutions of the problem converge
to a certain limit. The ninth part is devoted to
the study of the error properties of the solutions of
the problem. It is shown that the solutions of the
problem have a certain error. The tenth part is
devoted to the study of the computational properties
of the solutions of the problem. It is shown that
the solutions of the problem can be computed with
a certain efficiency.

TABLE III.

STATUS OF FAMILY AND HOME IN PRE-COMMITMENT PERIOD

Status ⁶	N u m b e r							
	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		Grand	
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.		
Death of one or both parents	5	2	1	2	6	4	10	
Desertion, separation or divorce of parents	2	2	4	2	6	4	10	
Early, forced or hasty marriage of parents	3	5	2	5	5	10	15	
Incompatibility of parents & children	3	2	2	3	5	5	10	
Criminal behavior of one or both parents	1	2		4	1	6	7	
Discipline poor by both parents	9	10	8	7	17	17	34	
Intemperance of one or both parents	1	3		3	1	6	7	
Low moral standards in and out of home	3	3	2	4	5	7	12	
Poverty and dependency of family	7	8	4	7	11	15	26	
Abnormally large family	3	3	1	4	4	7	11	
Illiteracy of parents	4	3	2	3	6	6	12	
Illegitimacy of one or several children (Parents never married although living together for several years)	1	2	1		2	2	4	
Step-mother problem for boy or children	1	1	2		3	1	4	
Mother had to work outside home	4	3	2	2	6	5	11	
Chronic illness in home	4	3	2	4	6	7	13	
⁷ Poor and unhealthy neighborhood	10	8	6	9	16	17	33	
⁷ Crowded and unhealthy home	9	8	7	9	16	17	33	
Poor use of leisure time by family and boy	9	10	4	10	13	20	33	
⁸ Cultural conflict between children and parents	6	7	3	5	9	12	21	

⁶ The standard of socially acceptable conduct in regard to family relationships and life here takes into consideration the surrounding environment, both in and outside the home. The man and woman must not be harming their family in any way

Table III. is an analysis of family, home and environmental problems. This analysis is designed to show the more specific or concrete problems as they relate to the boy. In general the figures speak for themselves and clearly illustrate the multiplicity of problems, environmental and economic, besetting the boys, their families and homes.

The following facts and figures seem challenging:

1. Discipline poor by both parents	34 (out of 40 cases)	or 85%
2. Poor and unhealthy neighborhood	33	" 82.5%
3. Crowded and unhealthy home	33	" 82.5%
4. Poor use of leisure time by family and boy	33	" 82.5%
5. Poverty and dependency of family	26	" 65%
6. Cultural conflict between children and parents	21	" 52.5%
7. Early, forced or hasty marriage of parents	15	" 37.5%
8. Chronic illness in the home	13	" 32.5%
9. Low moral standards in and out of home	12	" 30%

6 (Cont.) deemed injurious to the institution of the family; nor should the environment be allowed to injure the general welfare of the family and its individual members. Hence, any family in this particular study failing to meet the above standard in each specific classification was evaluated accordingly, each case being separately scrutinized before it was classified.

7 "Poor": As to environment, mental, moral and physical well-being, and companionships.

"Unhealthy": Same as for "Poor".

8 Writer's interpretation of "Cultural conflict" as found described at the beginning of Chapter III.

10. Illiteracy of parents	12 (out of 40 cases) or 30%
11. Broken home problems (Death of parents, desertion, divorce, etc., incompatibility, mother worked out)	10 " 25%

It is noteworthy that in every problem in Table III. the Shirley boys, especially the Honorably Discharged Shirley boys, had, on the whole, fewer problems than the Lyman boys. In the latter's cases the Honorable and Automatic boys' problems just about averaged up and very little difference is to be found in them at the time of commitment.

With full awareness that experts differ very widely and even violently as to the subject of heredity and the tangible evidences of favorable or unfavorable influences exerted by so-called hereditary factors upon the general or specific make-up and behavior of individuals, we venture, in Table IV., to submit for consideration in the total picture of family backgrounds of our forty boys a classification of factors which would appear to make for "good", "fair" or "poor" heredity. The very nature of our study and the serious handicaps, constitutional, mental and otherwise from which in great measure, we may suppose, the majority of the forty boys suffered serious maladjustments to social and economic life--all these considerations seem to warrant a searching into hereditary influences. In all cases a study was made of the parents', grandparents', and in many cases, great-grandparents' back-

ground in order to ferret out and correlate the findings into their proper category. Much care was taken in classifying all the elements in the picture.

So far as we know the persons classified as "good" have had no serious hereditary handicaps.

TABLE IV.

HEREDITARY FACTORS IN BOYS' FAMILIES AND MAKE-UP

Total factors making for	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
Good heredity	3	3	4	3	7	6	13
Fair heredity	7		4	4	11	4	15
Poor heredity		6	3	3	3	9	<u>12</u>
							40

We have no illusions here as to "how inaccurate the popular concept of heredity is as related to the origins of delinquency...Perhaps alcoholism, psychosis, epilepsy, and criminalism as these appear in the forbears will be regarded as important⁹ ... Except where the basis for delinquency exists in mental abnormality there is no good proof of the inheritance of such behavior characteristics as delinquency and criminality. In two of our cases, one an epileptic with a probably epileptic personality who has an epileptic father, and one whose assaultive delinquent behavior was maniacal in

⁹ These four criteria really serve as our bases for evaluating in Table IV.

type and whose father is a manic-depressive the significance of inheritance is clear. But it is interesting to note that this latter boy has a twin and seven other siblings all of whom appeared to be normal mentally."¹⁰ Healy and Bronner have so vividly explained here the very points we wish to bring out in our study and their case-illustrations parallel so very closely some of our cases that there appears to be no need for further elaboration on the points. We should like, however, to add one more note of wisdom from Healy and Bronner: "Among the difficulties of interpretation is the fact that there are so often, surrounding youth, bad social situations created by socially unfit parents, the effects of which are not those of biological inheritance."¹¹

The findings in Table IV. indicate that the Honorably Discharged boys have a slight edge over the Automatic so far as "good" heredity is concerned. "Poor" heredity is three times as great in the cases of the Automatic as in the Honorable cases. On the other hand, we note that in the case of "fair" heredity eleven Honorable to four Automatic are thus classified. These Honorable boys seemed to have one parent whose heredity was good but one whose heredity was fair, or fair-to-poor. We may include that the Honorables had some advantage over the Automatics so far as heredity was concerned, with Lyman and Shirley sharing honors pretty evenly.

¹⁰ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), pp. 38-39.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 39.

TABLE V.

PHYSICAL CONDITION OF BOYS AT TIME OF COMMITMENT

Physical Condition ¹²	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
Sound	6	4	8	7	14	11	25
Fair	3	4		2	3	6	9
Poor	1	3	1	1	2	4	6
							<u>40</u>

In some ways these figures are quite revealing, inasmuch as in each of the three categories the Automatic group—the group which did not seem to do so well on parole—were in poorer physical condition than were the Honorables. Particularly significant is the fact that in both the "fair" and "poor" groups the Automatics had twice the incidence of fair and poor physical condition—as compared to the Honorables. Also, in the "sound" group the Honorables' condition on the whole was appreciably better than the Automatics'.

Just a few items to illustrate the factors contributing to the boys' fair or poor physical condition:

¹² Boys in "sound" physical condition: Those whose general development was good and who had only minor ailments which did not directly interfere with their activities, such as carious teeth, earaches, etc. Boys in "fair" condition: Those whose general development was found to be poor but who showed no evidence of disease or serious physical handicap. Boys in "poor" condition: Those who had any serious physical disease, handicap, or deficiency, such as epilepsy, tuberculosis, syphilis, marked defect of vision, marked auditory defect, partial paralysis, serious heart lesion, or similar handicaps. (See Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934), p. 101))

1. Very poor physique (generally connected with some organic disturbance)	6	boys (out of 40)
2. Chronic heart disease	4	" "
3. Poor vision	4	" "
4. Serious head injuries	3	" "
5. Neurological trouble (abcesses of spine, etc.)	2	" "
6. Tuberculosis, or traces of same	2	" "
7. Epileptic seizures	2	" "
8. Chronic ear trouble	1	" "
9. Chronic nose trouble	1	" "

With reference to the importance attached to the study of delinquents in order to determine their deviations and the significance of these deviations in relation to the personality of the delinquent, the physical and constitutional peculiarities—among others to be sure—have been given much attention by Healy and Bronner, who have said, "it still remains...that the importance of these factors is not to be gainsaid."¹³

TABLE VI.

INTELLIGENCE OF FORTY BOYS

Intelligence Classification ¹⁴	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
"Supernormal" (I.Q. of 111 and over)			1	1	1	1	2
Normal (I.Q. of 91 to 110)	4	2	4	1	8	3	11
Dull Normal (I.Q. of 81 to 90)	6	4	3	5	9	9	18
Borderline (I.Q. of 71 to 80)		4	1	2	1	6	7
Defective (Feeble-minded— I.Q. of 70 and below)		1	1		1	1	2
							<u>40</u>

¹³ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, p.3.

¹⁴ "Norm": School children of all socio-economic and racial groups. This taken from Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, p. 102 (See footnote 42 on same page)

Despite the finding by the Glueck's, in their study of One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, that "delinquents doubtless come of a lower social and economic status than the general...population", they on the other hand point out that "the difference in the intelligence of...delinquents and that of children of the general population is so marked that it can hardly be attributed largely to these complicating factors. Clearly, the juvenile delinquent group contains a considerable excess of dull, borderline, and defective individuals. This means that educational difficulties were greater in this group, from the standpoint not only of teaching of subject-matter but of general habit-training and conduct."¹⁵ Certainly our study of these forty boys' mental equipment previous to their 'Training School commitment has more or less paralleled the Gluecks' findings.

Referring to Table VI. we observe that although two boys were "supernormal", two boys on the other end of the scale were defectives or feeble-minded. Only eleven or 27.5% of the total group of forty were considered normal. When we come to the dull-normal group, however, eighteen boys, comprising 45% of the total, were so classed. Seven boys were borderline, 17.5%. Hence, of the forty boys, twenty-seven, or 67.5% were subnormal in mental content. Again the Honorables seemed more favorably endowed than did the Automatics. Such facts would seem to have a very real bearing upon the juvenile

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 102.

delinquent's ability to adjust successfully to life's situations.

Experts have discovered that certain factors somehow prevent (or perhaps delay) an individual's favorable adjustment to society and life—despite the passage of time. "Although a marked improvement has occurred with the passage of the years in the traits and major life activities of offenders ... this cannot be said in respect to their mental condition. This lack of improvement in respect to mental condition is evidently a serious impediment to the reformatory process—a conclusion substantiated not only by...detailed statistical analysis...but also by an intensive case analysis of the men who did not reform. (This analysis) showed that in nine-tenths of the cases the failure of the men to improve appeared, on consideration of the factors and mechanisms in each case, to be clearly due to some mental or marked personality abnormality..."¹⁶ Among these abnormalities are included psychosis, psychopathy, great emotional instability, and the like.

All of which is applicable to our own study since the nature of the latter is to ultimately ascertain the relative improvement or unimprovement in forty boys, who are now young men. So large an issue cannot be allowed to escape our consideration in this study. For these reasons Table VII. has been prepared.

¹⁶ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Later Criminal Careers, pp. 124-125.

TABLE VII.
MENTAL CONDITION OF FORTY
BOYS

Mental Condition ¹⁷	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
No mental derangement							
Possible psychosis	1		1	1	2	1	3
Psychosis		1				1	1
Constitutional Inferior Personality	2	4	2	3	4	7	11
Psychopathic Personality	3	6	1	6	4	12	16
Epileptic			1	1	1	1	2
"Peculiar" personality		1		2		3	3
Psychoneurotic personality	2	1	2	4	4	5	9
Marked adolescent instability	9	10	8	8	17	18	35
Personality liabilities	5	6	2	5	7	11	18
Criminal ideation	6	7	1	7	7	14	21
Sex ideation (marked)	3	5	3	2	6	7	13
Homosexual personality	1	2			1	2	3
School dissatisfaction (marked)	9	8	7	9	16	17	33
Conflicts about parents (marked)	8	8	10	6	18	14	32
Other conflicts (marked)	9	9	9	8	18	17	35

If we may refer to boys with so many and so marked mental, emotional and personality handicaps as "sick" individuals, our forty boys were "sick" indeed; some, or in fact quite a few were very sick and had the advice of the clinic

¹⁷ Basis of evaluation: Each boy's mental condition evaluated in terms of normality versus personality deviation, and normality versus neurosis and psychosis. (See William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, pp. 42 and 52) Each diagnosis is based entirely upon the diagnosis made by a clinic or at the Training Schools and does not represent the writer's judgment, as such. The diagnosis in none of these cases was made on the basis of the delinquent manifestations alone.

and the psychistrists been heeded in some of these cases, some means other than commitment to the Training Schools would have been used in order to help those boys more possible of rehabilitation and convalescence to become more nearly well, more nearly normal members of society—hence better citizens after reaching their majority.

No interpretation of the findings in Table VII. seems called for here; reference to the last column on the right will furnish very ready comparisons. Significant, again, is the finding that in the most serious types of mental derangements the Honorables have far less problems than do the Automatics.

TABLE VIII.

DELINQUENCIES AND RELATED PROBLEMS¹⁸ LEADING TO BOYS'

COMMITMENT TO TRAINING SCHOOLS

Delinquencies, etc.	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
Larceny and similar offences	9	10	6	9	15	19	34
Breaking and entering and larceny	6	4	4	5	10	9	19
Stubbornness (including waywardness, disobedience)	4	7	10	10	14	17	31
Running away from home	4	5	3	6	7	11	18
Truancy	10	7	6	9	16	16	32
Assault and Battery	2			2	2	2	4
Lewdness and sex offenses	2	4	1	3	3	7	10
Drunkenness			2	2	2	2	4
Malicious destruction of property	1	3	1	1	2	4	6
Bunking out	1	5	3	5	4	10	14
Serious violations of school regulations	3	1	2	1	5	2	7
Serious automobile violations	1	1	5	5	6	6	12

18 A boy (7-17 yrs.) is brought before the Juvenile Court, is talked with by the Judge and is adjudged "delinquent" if the evidence indicates he committed that with which he is charged. A boy is generally placed upon straight probation for his first court appearance and in general is given probation again for his second court appearance. He may be given a suspended sentence for his second appearance, along with probation, but this is not the usual procedure unless the boy's delinquency is considered to be very serious; almost always a boy is given a third probation plus a suspended sentence for his third court appearance. If the nature of his delinquency is serious enough, however, he may be committed at once to the Training School. Subsequent court appearances and adjudication of delinquency may lead to revocation of the previous suspended sentence, or sentences, and the boy is in such cases committed to one of the Training

In Table VIII. it will be seen that property offenses are in the majority, while truancy, stubbornness, running away from home, bunking out, serious automobile violations and sex offences are next in frequency, reading in that order. There is no denying the fact that property offenses and truancy go hand in hand and that stubbornness and other home and family difficulties line up with running away from home and bunking out. It is readily seen from this that "juvenile courts deal with conduct difficulties of long standing. It is also obvious that some organized attempt must be made to cope with the anti-social behavior of children as soon as it manifests itself. This might be accomplished through clinics, which would form an organic part of the public-school system."¹⁹

The number of more serious offenses—and in many instances the minor offenses—committed by the Automatics is greater than that committed by the Honorables.

18 (Cont) Schools. Therefore, our list of delinquencies and related problems in Table VIII. were the bases for ultimate commitment to the Schools. Delinquency is determined and so-named by the Juvenile Court.

19 Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, pp. 97-98.

TABLE IX.

AVERAGE AGES OF FORTY BOYS ON: COMMITMENT TO TRAINING
SCHOOLS, RELEASE TO BOYS' PAROLE DEPARTMENT ON PAROLE,
AND DISCHARGE FROM BOYS' PAROLE DEPARTMENT

Period	Lyman		Shirley	
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.
Commitment to Training Schools	13.5	13.2	16.3	18
Release to Boys' Parole Department	14.4	14.2	17.1	18.10
Discharge from Boys' Parole Department	20.6	21	20.6	21

Of these forty boys, fourteen Lyman and twelve Shirley were returned to the Schools one or more times for violation of parole. The average length of time spent by the boys on each return was eight months for Lyman and seven months for Shirley. On the average the Lyman boys were under the care and the supervision of the Boys' Parole Department for six years; the Shirley boys were under its care for approximately three and one-half years in the cases of the Honorables and two years and two months in the cases of the Automatics, all of whom became of age at twenty-one years and were therefore Automatically Discharged at twenty-one. Averaging the differences in the ages between Honorables at time of discharge and Automatics at time of discharge, we note that the Honorables were on the average only six months younger than the Automatics.

We attach a great deal of importance to our study here

of family backgrounds and the pre-Training School history of the individual boy for the purpose of demonstrating the type of boy and case situation with which first the institution of the Training School and later the Boys' Parole Department and its workers are called upon to supervise and help before the boy becomes twenty-one and is then placed beyond the direct jurisdiction of the Department. Within from two and one-half years in the cases of some of the older Shirley boys to six years in the cases of the majority of the Lyman boys the Boys' Parole Department is faced with the phenomenal task of helping these young offenders become good, respectable, self-respecting citizens. Chapter III. has pointed out the multiplicity of problems from which these young individuals have suffered and from which in most cases they still suffer when they are returned to the real community from the Training School. The boys studied here, for instance, have been subjected to the most adverse family, home, economic, social, biological, cultural, physical, mental and emotional conditions—not only for a few years but for eleven years in the case of the youngest Lyman boy studied (eleven at the time of commitment) and, in the cases of some of the Shirley boys, for as long as eighteen and even twenty years. These boys, by and large, have failed at school, have failed on probation, have failed in the home and have failed in the community. After so many long years of negative, even ruinous condition-

ing, the Massachusetts Training Schools and their Boys' Parole Department inherit one of the most discouraging jobs in society. It is their job to try to rehabilitate these boys who already have so many odds against them when they become their wards. As Healy and Bronner have so aptly declared: "Research into fundamental causes has left us with the conviction that the checking of a delinquent career once started is no easy matter. In any treatment project there is no royal road to success."²⁰

²⁰ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, p. 216.

CHAPTER IV.

FOLLOW-UP FINDINGS

We allow the period of training and care in the Training Schools, and later, the period of supervision and care in the community by the Boys' Parole Department and its workers take care of themselves. The scope of this research does not allow of a Training School period study or a study of the boy's progress while on parole. Now let us turn to a study of the post-parole period and a presentation of the findings gathered. The post-parole period studied begins, approximately, Feb. 15, 1936 and ends March 15, 1941, making it a five-year follow-up.

The major value of juvenile parole in the post-parole period would seem to be the carry-over values and the constructive influences of these carry-over values upon the former young parolee. We are studying these forty (now) men to ascertain, if possible, how they have adjusted to life and life's problems and whether or not they have forsworn their delinquent conduct for something more acceptable to society and American culture. By comparing the present conduct in its totality, both criminal and non-criminal¹ of the former parolees with their conduct as we have seen it at the time of their Training School commitment and as we have seen it, to a lesser degree, perhaps, in reports in records during

¹ Once a boy is seventeen, his offenses, if of a serious enough nature, become crimes in the eyes of the law, not delinquencies as was the case before he reached his seventeenth birthday.

parole and since discharge from parole, we hope to have a rather broad basis for evaluating their improvement or unimprovement as the case may be. This gives us an "observation period", so-to-speak, of from eight to eleven years in all in which to catch glimpses of the general trends of things. Of course, it must be admitted that we have concentrated our attention upon the past five years, with very careful emphasis on how the man is doing in his total situation at the present moment. This follow-up serves, therefore, the double purpose of evaluating the work of the Boys' Parole Department and of evaluating the adjustment of the men during the first five-year post-parole period.

For practical purposes we shall divide the present chapter into two section—Criminal Conduct versus Non-Criminal Conduct.

A. CRIMINAL CONDUCT

TABLE X.

TYPES AND NUMBER OF OFFENSES COMMITTED BY FORTY MEN IN
FIVE-YEAR POST-PAROLE PERIOD

Offenses	No. and by whom committed					
	Lyman		Shirley		Totals	
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.
Burglary				1	1	1
Robbery	1		1		2	
Breaking and Entering	1				1	
Breaking and Entering and Larceny	9	2		3	9	5
Larceny from Person	1	1	1	1	2	2
Serious Auto Violations	1	1			1	1
Rape				2		2
Other Sex Offenses				1		1
Fugitive from Justice				1		1
Possessing or Dealing in Drugs				2		2
Violations of Labor Laws		2				2
Vagrancy, Idle and Disorderly				1		1
Non-Support	2	2		2	2	4
Bastardy	1	1	1		2	1
Drunkenness	15	3	2	22	17	25
Disturbing Peace				1		1
Threatening				1		1
Malicious Injury to Property				1		1
Technical Violations to Auto. Laws	1	3		2	1	5
Assault and Battery		2	1	3	1	5
Peddling without License and other Police Violations	1	2		3	1	5
Others (Mostly minor)	1				1	
Totals	34	19	6	47	40	66

Analyzing Table X. and breaking down the offenses into "serious"² and "minor"³ offenses, there is a total of twenty-six (26) serious offenses and eighty (80) minor offenses

² **Serious:** Refers essentially to felonies (property crimes, amounting to \$100 or over, pathological sex offenses, rape, fugitive from justice)

³ **Minor:** Refers to such offenses as drunkenness, vagrancy, violation of labor laws, lewd and lascivious cohabitation, bastardy, non-support, assault and battery, disturbing the peace, peddling without a license, possessing drugs, threatening. (Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Later Criminal Careers, pp.252-253)

committed by these forty men in the five-year post-parole period. This means about 25% of the offenses were of a serious nature while about 75% were of a minor or less severe nature. The Honorables are charged with a greater number of serious crimes than are the Automatics but we must hasten to explain in this connection that one man, now in State Prison, was charged with six counts of breaking and entering and larceny in one sitting of the court. This seems to modify the situation a little, as no other group or no other category had so many charges at one time against one man. In the matter of minor crimes the Automatics committed over a third more than did the Honorables. Drunkenness accounts for forty-two minor offenses. Here again, the Honorables have against them only two-thirds the number the Automatics do in the way of court appearances for drunkenness. In most ways the Automatics have been in court more times than have the Honorables and all in all the latter have done better in the way of avoiding crime in general.

A final word should be added concerning Table X. In the case of the Honorables there are an undue number of criminal offenses committed by a relatively few number of men. This is mentioned here because such a consideration makes it doubly difficult to evaluate the criminal conduct of the Honorably Discharged men.

TABLE XI.

DISPOSITIONS AND CONVICTIONS IN OFFENSES COMMITTED

Dispositions and Convictions	No. and those concerned						
	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
Commitments to Penal Institutions		2				2	2
Commitments to Houses of Correction	3	2	1	6	4	8	12
Commitments to Jails	1			3	1	3	4
Suspended Sentences (followed by Probation)	4	2		5	4	7	11
Not Guilty			1	3	1	3	4
Probations	2	2	3	7	5	9	14
Fines or Restitutions	3	5		4	3	9	12
Files	4	4		5	4	9	13
Discharges, released by probation officer, no bill	9	3		9	9	12	21
Default warrant		2		1		3	3
Others (as Parole continued, etc.)		2				2	2

There were eighteen commitments to criminal institutions among our forty men in the five-year post-parole period. Also eleven suspended sentences and fourteen probations were given, meaning that in twenty-five cases the offenses were sufficiently serious to warrant this action by the court. The Honorables are distinguished by the fact that two of their members have been committed to penal institutions to the exclusion of the Automatics. One Honorable--the one who was mentioned in connection with Table X.--is now serving a twenty-year term at State Prison for six counts of larceny in the night-time, while a second Honorable has just finished a year's sentence at the Reformatory. On the other hand, the Automatics have

eight House of Correction commitments to their credit—twice as many as the Honorables have. In the matter of jail commitments the Automatics have had three times as many as the Honorables, and the Automatics have had nearly twice as many suspended sentences and probations and three times as many fines and restitutions meted out to them. Unless the two penal commitments can be considered to carry too much weight in such comparison, it would seem that the Honorables have had less cause, on the whole, to be dealt with harshly by the law and the courts.

TABLE XII.

EVALUATION OF ADJUSTMENT OF FORTY MEN FROM THE POINT OF
VIEW OF CRIMINAL CONDUCT DURING THE FIVE-YEAR POST-
PAROLE PERIOD

Criteria ⁴	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
<u>Favorable</u>	6	5	9	3	15	8	23
In relation to Community							
Standards				"			
Behavior				"			
Environment				"			
Health				"			
Intelligence				"			
Heredity				"			
Personality				"			
Ability to De- pend on Self				"			
<u>Questionable</u>	3	2	1	3	4	5	9
In relation to Community							
Standards				"			
Behavior				"			
Environment				"			
Health				"			
Intelligence				"			
Heredity				"			
Personality				"			
Ability to De- pend on Self				"			
<u>Unfavorable</u>	1	3		4	1	7	8
In relation to Community							
Standards				"			
Behavior				"			
Environment				"			
Health				"			
Intelligence				"			
Heredity				"			
Personality				"			
Ability to De- pend on Self				"			

4 Criteria defined: "Favorable": No police, court jail or prison record, except for one or two very minor misdemeanors or one or two minor motor viola-

In evaluating a man's adjustment in relation to his criminal conduct, we have as will be seen by referring to Table XII., taken carefully into consideration not only his criminal conduct, as such, but also those factors which his conditioning over the years have made more or less a part of him, and also his biological, mental and emotional inheritances. The modifications in the totality of his relationships and adjustments and the ways in which his criminal behavior has effected this totality—all these factors have been painstakingly considered. In other words, we have taken

4 (Cont.) tions. No commission of "criminal" acts (felonies) whatever. (See Chapter IV., footnotes 2 and 3). No desertion or dishonorable discharge from the Army, Navy or Marines.

"Questionable": Conviction on three minor offenses or arrest for not more than four minor offenses (misdemeanors). In case of petty auto offenses or drunkenness as many as six arrests are allowed but of these six not more than three should be for drunkenness. Arrests for three serious offenses not followed by convictions. Minor, sporadic arrests in which no action was taken, for various reasons are also taken into account in "questionable" cases. No desertion or dishonorable discharge from Army, Navy, or Marines.

"Unfavorable": Cases in which there have been arrests for four or more serious offenses not followed by convictions, or arrests for more than four minor offenses (except drunkenness) not followed by convictions; or convictions for two or more serious offenses; or convictions for more than six charges of drunkenness; or desertion or dishonorable discharge from Army, Navy or Marines; or known commission of serious offenses; or a continuing course of minor offenses for which the men were somehow not arrested or prosecuted.

Note: These standards adapted from the Gluecks, but modified here to suit the aims and purposes of this research.
Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Later Criminal Careers, pp. 9-11.

into account the "human equation" but have objectified our thinking and evaluations by utilizing the criteria of scientific research experts in this very field.

Twenty-three men in all are rated as "favorable" in their adjustments. This means that 57.5% of the forty men have, so far as we know, abandoned their criminal activities started in boyhood. "Questionable" are nine or 22.5% of the total number, while definitely "unfavorable" with respect to criminal conduct are eight or 20% of the total. Analyzing further, it is at once evident that the Honorables have given up crime much more completely than have the Automatics for 75% of the total Honorables are rated as favorable, whereas only eight or 40% of the Automatics are rated favorable. The Honorables have four "questionable" cases to the Automatics' five, while the Honorables have but one definitely unfavorable case as contrasted to seven of the Automatics. The Shirley groups have done better on the average than have the Lyman groups.

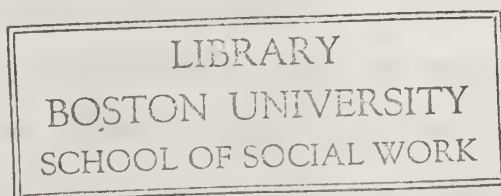
In conclusion, then, the Shirley Honorables may be said to have engaged in criminal activities much less (almost half as much) than the Automatics, while the Lyman Honorables have done about the same as the Automatics.

B. NON-CRIMINAL CONDUCT

Students of criminal versus non-criminal behavior have been told that there exists a high association between non-

delinquency and the favorable aspects of other major factors in the careers of former delinquents or present non-criminals— successful family relationships, assumption of their economic responsibilities, good industrial adjustment and harmless use of leisure time. This does not necessarily imply the existence of a causal relationship between non-delinquency and those other factors. But the high correlation at least raises the question whether the general improvement in family, economic and like aspects of the careers of our men explains the reduction which has actually occurred in criminality (or vice versa); or whether still other factors largely account for the reduction in recidivism and in turn for the improvement which has occurred in the other aspects of the life activities of our men.⁵

In the following Tables and discussion we shall take special note of those influences which make for improvement in our forty men.



⁵ Quoted rather freely from Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Later Criminal Careers, p. 98.

TABLE XIII.

OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF FORTY MEN IN THE FIVE-YEAR
POST-PAROLE PERIOD

Occupational Adjustment ⁶	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
Good	5	2	8	1	13	3	16
Fair	4	3	2	3	6	6	12
Poor	1	5		6	1	11	<u>12</u>
							40

Favorable occupational adjustment is noted in the cases of sixteen of our forty men—40%. "Fair" adjustment is seen in twelve cases—30%, while "poor" adjustment is seen in twelve cases—again 30%. Again the Honorables make a much better showing than do the Automatics, as a matter of fact over four times as good in "good" adjustment and eleven times less in poor adjustment. Again, also, former Shirley boys have made a slightly better showing than have the former Lyman boys.

A great many of our men were found to be largely irregular and incompetent workers—many of them unemployable and not merely unemployed, because of lack of training and skill, health and temperamental aptitudes. Several men have been engaged in illicit occupations such as smuggling liquor across the border, peddling dope, soliciting alms without a license,

⁶ "Good", "fair", or "poor" based upon: Good: Work habits good and man a regular worker. Fair: Work habits good, and either fairly regular or irregular worker; or work habits fair or poor, but man works regularly. Poor: Work habits poor. Man a fairly regular or irregular worker or is engaged in illicit occupations to the exclusion of all, or almost all, legitimate work. Ibid, pp. 243-244.

and so on.

TABLE XIV.

ABILITY OF FORTY MEN TO MEET ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITIES IN
FIVE-YEAR POST-PAROLE PERIOD

Ability to meet economic responsibilities ⁷	Lyman Hon. Aut.		Shirley Hon. Aut.		Totals Hon. Aut. Grand		
Good	7	3	7	3	14	6	20
Fair	1	2	3	5	4	7	11
Poor	2	5		2	2	7	9
							<u>40</u>

50% of the men have met and are meeting their economic responsibilities well; 27.5% are considered "fair" in this respect, while 22.5% seem to be meeting their responsibilities poorly. The Honorables have demonstrated their ability to be

⁷ If a man meets his responsibility, he does so whether single, separated, widowed or divorced; that is, he supports himself even if by illegitimate employment and at least in marginal circumstances with only occasional public or private aid or some assistance (sporadic) from relatives. If he has dependents (wife, children or parents) he makes every reasonable effort to support them in at least marginal circumstances. Such a man's ability to meet his economic responsibilities is "good". "Fair": Unable to meet his responsibilities through no fault of his own, as chronic physical or mental illness or defect, depression victim, etc. This also includes one whose attitude towards his responsibilities is indifferent, who is careless in his responsibilities, but who is not really lazy or dependent. "Poor": A man who does not meet the standard, as set forth under "good" through his own fault, or contracts avoidable debts or receives frequent aid from social agencies or relatives when he should be self-supporting.

Ibid, pp. 237-238.

good economic risks by doing more than twice as well in the "good" class as have the Automatics; in the "fair" classification the Honorables have again done much better than have the Automatics while there are seven "poor" cases for the Automatics to only two for the Honorables. The former Shirley boys have done better, on the whole, here than have the former Lyman boys.

In checking over our Schedules we observe that thirteen (13) married men and their families are on relief or have been recently, six married men and three single are on the W.P.A., and seventeen men, twelve of them married with children, have been known to welfare, health and other social agencies on the average of three to four agencies per person. In some cases chronic illness or debilities have prevented men from working at least a part of the time.

TABLE XV.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS OF FORTY MEN IN FIVE-YEAR

POST-PAROLE PERIOD

Family Relationships ⁸	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
Good	5	2	4		9	2	11
Fair	1	2	5	4	6	6	12
Poor	4	6	1	6	5	12	17
							<u>40</u>

⁸ The standard of socially acceptable conduct in regard to family relationships adopted for our purposes is the following: Good: Non-harmful behavior. If married, the man must not neglect or desert wife or children and must not be separated or divorced from his wife, have illicit rela-

Family relationships would seem to be the most difficult hurdle for the larger percentage of our men, for here the balance is tipped to the other, the unfavorable end of the scale. Only 27.5% of the total number appear to have "good" family relationships. 30% have "fair" relationships and 42.5% have "poor" relationships. The Honorables make a much better showing than do the Automatics while the former Shirley boys again have adjusted more favorable than have the former Lyman boys.

This inability of the majority of the forty men to get along with others is reflected in separations, divorces, incompatibility, infidelity, desertions and several (six to eight) cases of non-support, six of which, as we have seen, have come to the attention of the court.

8 (Cont.) tions with other women, be abusive to wife or child, nor be away from home too much of the time after working hours. If single, he should be at home some of the time besides just eating and sleeping there and should not depend on his family for funds. If meeting the above standards in a particularly wholesome manner, a man's relationship to his family is considered "good".

"Fair": If a man approximates the above standards.

"Poor": If a man has failed to meet the above standards.

Ibid, pp. 240-241.

TABLE XVI.

USE OF LEISURE TIME. HABITS OF FORTY MEN IN POST-

PAROLE PERIOD

Leisure Time, and Habits ⁹	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
Constructive	3	2	4	2	7	4	11
Negative	4	2	4	2	8	4	12
Harmful	3	6	2	6	5	12	17
							40

Oddly enough the totals for the group as a whole in the use of leisure time, and habits, are exactly the same as the totals in respect to family relationships. 42.5% of the forty men seem to be using their leisure time harmfully and the same amount are given to harmful habits. 30% are doing nothing to improve themselves in any way and only 27.5% of the total number are putting their leisure time to constructive use and have really good habits. Again, the Honorables have demonstrated their faculty for living more socially

9 "Harmful": Using spare time harmfully. A man having pronounced bad habits and associations, who has been and is indulging in forms of recreation which might lead to criminal conduct (such as membership in gangs, association with bootleggers, prostitutes, and loafers; drug addiction, excessive drinking or gambling, sex immorality).

"Constructive": A man who is a member of a well-supervised group, such as the Y.M.C.A.; he should use his leisure time to further himself culturally or vocationally and should be free from bad habits of the kind indicated above.

"Negative": One who has not at least been engaging in harmful activities, even though not utilizing his time constructively. Further, he must not have had any marked bad habits. This category also includes persons who otherwise meet the conditions, but who are known to gamble at cards or dice at home or to drink at home to a degree not resulting in drunkenness.

Ibid, p. 14.

satisfactory lives since only five use their time harmfully to twelve of the Automatics and seven use their time constructively to only four of the Automatics. The former Shirley boys have a very slight edge over the former Lyman boys in the constructive use of leisure time.

TABLE XVII.

WHEREABOUTS AND MARRIED OR SINGLE STATUS OF FORTY MEN

AS OF MARCH 15, 1941

Status and Whereabouts	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
<u>Married:</u>	4	5	3	6	7	11	18
Living in Boston Proper	2	3	1	2	3	5	8
Living in Greater Boston		2	1	3	1	5	6
Living outside Greater Boston (In Mass.)			1		1		1
Living out-of-state (Mass.)				1		1	1
Roaming around U.S.							
Working on boats							
In Army (Drafted)							
In Marines							
In Prison (Mass.)	1				1		1
In House of Correction (Mass.)	1				1		1
In Jail (out-of-state)							
<u>Single:</u>	6	5	7	4	13	9	22
Living in Boston Proper	1		3	1	4	1	5
Living in Greater Boston	1	2	1	1	2	3	5
Living outside Greater Boston (In Mass.)							
Living out-of-state (Mass.)		1	1		1	1	2
Roaming around U.S.			1		1		1
Working on boats	2	1			2	1	3
In Army (Drafted)	1			2	1	2	3
In Marines (Past 7 years)			1		1		1
In Prison (Mass.)							
In House of Correction (Mass.)	1	1			1	1	2
In Jail (out-of-state)							
							40

Table XVII. indicates much less mobility on the part of the married men and a greater tendency on their part to live

in or near Boston Proper. Those in institutions are of equal number in both married and single men. The trend of the day is clearly shown here—the drafting of young single men for the Army.

TABLE XVIII.

EVALUATION OF ADJUSTMENT OF FORTY MEN FROM THE POINT-OF-VIEW OF NON-CRIMINAL CONDUCT DURING THE FIVE-YEAR POST-PAROLE PERIOD

Criteria ¹⁰	Lyman		Shirley		Totals		
	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Hon.	Aut.	Grand
<u>Favorable</u>	5	1	5	1	10	2	12
In relation to Community Standards							
" Behavior				"			
" Environment				"			
" Health				"			
" Intelligence				"			
" Heredity				"			
" Personality				"			
" Ability to Depend on Self				"			
<u>Questionable</u>	3	4	5	3	8	7	15
In relation to Community Standards							
" Behavior				"			
" Environment				"			
" Health				"			
" Intelligence				"			
" Heredity				"			
" Personality				"			
" Ability to Depend on Self				"			
<u>Unfavorable</u>	2	5		6	2	11	13
In relation to Community Standards							
" Behavior				"			
" Environment				"			
" Health				"			
" Intelligence				"			
" Heredity				"			
" Personality				"			
" Ability to Depend on Self				"			

10 In connection with Tables XIII.-XVI. bases,

The final Table in our study indicates that, in relation to Non-Criminal Conduct on the whole, the Honorables have done much better all around than have the Automatics and the former Shirley boys have made a better general adjustment than have the former Lyman boys. Of the total group of forty boys, 30% have seemed to adjust favorably, in 37.5% of the cases there is a question as to their favorable adjustment, and 32.5% of the total number have failed to adjust favorably.

10 (Cont.) or standards for evaluations were amply discussed in footnotes. We integrate in this final evaluation of non-criminal conduct our total knowledge of the individual and consider each individual in relation to his adjustment to the various phases of life as studied in our various tables and discussions. "Favorable," "Questionable" and "Unfavorable" seem to require no further definition at this point.

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Evaluating the use of Honorable Discharge as a technique in juvenile parole work, we must say from the figures which we have presented in the follow-up findings that in view of the men's handicaps, natural and otherwise, from birth to the present time, it appears as though Honorable Discharge has worked rather well—especially for the former Shirley boys—if by Honorable Discharge we mean that its value has a carry-over effect which enables the man or men to keep on in their socially acceptable conduct and assume as their own responsibility their favorable adjustment to life's situations as a whole. Most of the Honorably Discharged men are found to be hardly, if at all, criminalistically inclined today. Therefore, in this respect, the Honorably Discharged men have, for the most part, adjusted favorably. On the other hand, in evaluating their non-criminal conduct we find that non-criminal delinquencies and social, environmental and economic shortcomings persist somewhat in the same pattern as was found to exist before the boys were committed to the Training Schools. In other words, in a great many cases we have been tempted to say "like father like son" because the very socially unacceptable traits, habit patterns, and practices of the fathers, the families and others in the immediate environment outside has been carried over into the boys' now adult life. Most of the boys, both Honorable and Auto-

matic, who have not adjusted very favorably have of necessity lived in poor environmental and economic situations which in turn have contributed to lower social standards in general.

In reference to the Automatically Discharged boys we see that they have done poorly in comparison with the Honorably Discharged. Nor should we look down on these boys too much for this because if we peruse our findings a little, we find that the boys who have adjusted the least favorably—and this is especially true of the Automatic Discharges—have possessed very little of a positive or constructive nature, biologically, economically, socially and environmentally to begin with. Their station in life has been lowly, and, because of this, the opportunities which have been created for them have been very few. A few of the men have lapsed back into criminal and undesirable non-criminal behavior after an interim of from eight to ten years in all.

In any mention of the differences in the favorability of adjustment of Honorables versus Automatics we must bear in mind that although the fact has been established here that the Honorables have done better on the whole than have the Automatics, at the same time the Honorables had from child-birth and for approximately $26\frac{1}{2}$ years to the present more things in their favor. Most Honorables were from better homes, better environments where social standards were higher; their heredity seemed better endowed. Physically, mentally, and emotionally they were better equipped on the average than were the

Automatics at any time in their life span.

The fact remains, then, that Honorable Discharge has worked fairly well in the cases of the boys studied here, if we base our evaluation of favorable adjustment on the relative acceptability in the eyes of society of the individuals' conduct.

Turning our attention to the Training Schools for a moment, we observe that all in all and in almost every phase of adjustment the former parolees from the Shirley School have adjusted more favorably than have the former Lyman School parolees. How to account for this is beyond the ability and scope of this inquiry, for so far as maturation in years is concerned, the former Shirley boys are now of the same average age as are the former Lyman boys. Whether or not there is a greater maturity in mental, physical and emotional stability we cannot say, but we do point out that there has been a steady, almost unbroken line of improvement in the former Shirley boys from the time of commitment to the present day. Things have not gone so smoothly for the former Lyman boys. Let us make one more observation in this connection: The former Shirley boys were of an average age of sixteen years eight months for the Honorables at the time of commitment and eighteen years for the Automatics—as compared to thirteen years five months for the Lyman Honorables and thirteen years two months for the Automatics. Could this from three to five years difference in ages have accounted in any way for the

later more favorable adjustment on the part of the former Shirley boys? We simply raise the question; we do not pretend to know the answer.

In evaluating the work of any social agency and the use of certain techniques in connection with that work, one must take into consideration the limitations of the persons with whom the social workers, or Visitors, are expected to deal, for these limitations would seem to correspondingly limit the worker in his effectiveness.

A very brief survey of Chapter III. and the facts it presented will serve to show that the vast majority of the boys studied—and these have been painstakingly selected as a representative cross-section of the run-of-mill boy with whom the Massachusetts Training Schools and the Boys' Parole Department have to work every day—had inescapable and serious limitations producing problems which in many cases would seem to render successful or anywhere near successful treatment by Visitor, clinic and community combined well nigh impossible. This would seem to be even a greater reality with the present case load of approximately one hundred and ten (110) boys per Parole Visitor. During the middle period of parole for these boys (when they were 18-19 years of age) the case load was 165 per Visitor.

The other side of the picture, if we may accept the authority of the Gluecks, is that "the physical and mental changes that comprise the natural process of maturation offer

the chief explanation of ... improvement in conduct with the passing of the years." ¹ Hence, do all the efforts of the social worker and the Parole Visitor go for naught and is it all wasted energy and money; is life and the passing of the years the only solutions or possible solutions for improvement in human conduct? In answer to this the Gluecks also refer to the possibility of "hastening the maturation process." This, it would seem, is where the social worker comes in, and if the social worker can hasten this maturation process by means at his disposal he will have not only repaid the State and the community for his own services but will at the same time have saved, in the long run, the State and the community many thousands of dollars by preventing and curbing delinquency and crime.

One of the leading authorities on juvenile parole in this Commonwealth has most aptly stated: "One of the neglected subjects at conferences and one of the least explored fields in social work is that pertaining to continuity of treatment for young offenders ... Unfortunately ... the disposition and treatment of delinquent children is still bedeviled in many places by a philosophy of punishment and retaliation, and by a penological vocabulary. We still speak of sentencing children, of requiring them to serve time, and of paroling them like convicts from prisons. The term 'parole' has become so indented with inferior parole work that it is unsuitable

¹ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1940), p.265.

to use for those released from Training Schools for young offenders. . . . Until we invent a more fitting word we may have to continue to use the term 'parole'." ² Herein we have stated the pertinent facts of the case, and if we may be allowed to quote another authority in social work , Margaretta Williamson, we will have arrived at the crux of the whole problem of juvenile parole. Miss Williamson states: "The probationer has been placed on probation because of certain promising and hopeful aspects of his case, while the parolee is often an individual with whom probation has failed and whose career in delinquency has gained momentum. Unlike the probation officer, the parole officer has to deal with a person who has been isolated from the free life of the community. A problem peculiar to parole therefore is that of helping the parolee to readjust himself to the family circle and the community. In the institution the individual has been subjected to routine. He has lived a life in which no initiative was required; he has not had to think for himself. Upon his release, bearing the stigma of a prison record, he must mingle again in a society in which he will suffer economic and social handicaps." ³

After all is said and done, juvenile delinquency in any community and in any State is a public responsibility. ⁴

² Emanuel Borenstein, "Release of the Child from the Institution", pp. 3-4.

³ Margaretta Williamson, The Social Worker in the Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency (New York; Columbia University Press, 1935), p. 4.

⁴ Massachusetts Child Council, Juvenile Delinquency in Massachusetts as a Public Responsibility (Boston, 1939)

On the other hand, "the prevention of maladjustment is a task that cannot be left to chance or to persons who are emotionally concerned in it. The whole community must continuously participate in this work."⁵

"Little good will come from equipping social agencies with a new philosophy and with a habit of looking at the problem of human maladjustment in its entirety unless society offers more opportunities to the social worker ... The most adequate social agency is necessarily hampered unless more money and more thought are diverted to prevention ... The community, or at least those persons who are leaders in the community, must insist upon scientific research upon which to base programs of prevention. Programs must stand upon facts and not upon the wishful thinking of their creators."⁶

Suggestions

The findings and discussion pertinent to these findings in this study seem to substantiate the following suggestions:

A. Further Study

Since this study has been made in a relatively unexplored field it would seem to be very valuable to have further study along these lines made, both in connection with the Massachusetts Training Schools and in connection with the

⁵ Edith M. H. Baylor and Elio D. Monachesi,
The Rehabilitation of Children, p. 490.

⁶ Ibid, p. 127.

Boys' Parole Department. Many premises cannot be proved without much more research. Because of the small sample studied in this inquiry we were not able to evaluate the Honorable Discharge to any acceptable extent.

A pertinent suggestion would seem to be that a follow-up study which will be scientific, thorough and objective be made, to begin with, of all boys both Honorably and Automatically discharged from the Massachusetts Boys' Parole Department for at least a two-year period. This would allow a more sizable and more complete study since it would embrace not forty boys but 300 or more boys coming from every part of the State. This initial study should be followed by a series of similar studies until an actual scientific evaluation of the work of the Boys' Parole Department is made.

B. Departmental Aspects

1. That since methods of community care are not yet perfected to the point where special Training Schools are no longer required and since, because of this fact, Training Schools will continue to fulfill a very necessary function, this function be brought into closer harmony with the new movement on foot for re-educating the court child, that it be fitted into a continuous process, instead of remaining, as now, uncorrelated and apart.⁷

2. That the Parole Visitors be encouraged to interpret to
7 Massachusetts Child Council, Juvenile Delinquency in Massachusetts as a Public Responsibility,
 p. 58.

the community, more and more, the work which the Training Schools and the Boys' Parole Department are trying to do; this would seem to in turn, encourage the community's cooperation.

3. That the Parole Visitors work in close harmony with the Training Schools, especially in seeking to better understand the boys who will be released to their care and supervision.

4. That the Parole Visitor come to know the prospective parolee soon after the latter enters the School and that preparation for ultimate return to the community be instituted as soon as possible.

5. That the Parole Visitor come to have a thorough understanding of the boys' families, their assets, liabilities, immediate problems and the all-important neighborhood and environmental influences.⁸

6. One of the most pressing needs in the entire juvenile parole set-up is the need to work as intensively as possible with the family while the boy is at the Training School and even more intensively when the boy is returned to his home. The importance of this cannot be over-emphasized.

7. Foster home placement facilities and a home-finding arrangement would greatly facilitate the juvenile parole work and would seem to make for more success in treatment of the

⁸ Some parts of points 2, 3, 4 and 5 have been borrowed freely, by special permission from the author, Emanuel Borenstein, "Release of the Child from the Institution".

more serious problem cases.

8. A more thorough understanding of the boy's ability to depend on himself on the part of the Parole Visitor might help in preparing a boy for Honorable Discharge, especially if this were mentioned as a challenge, as a worthwhile goal, not so much a reward for an unfortunate home and environmental situation.

9. A reasonable case load—say fifty (50) cases to a Visitor might well lead to much better results and would definitely make the Parole Visitor's work more attractive and hopeful than discouraging.

10. More Parole Visitors would be needed in order to effect this reduction in case load.

11. More clerical and stenographic assistance would make possible the creation and maintenance of a substantial case record system which would give a complete social history, treatment and foster home records, clinical, medical, psychiatric and other reports.

12. The establishment of a higher salary for Parole Visitors with subsequent step-rate increases would make the positions more attractive and would serve to create a willingness on the part of prospective Visitors to secure training in preparation for such positions.

C. Community Aspects

None of the foregoing suggestions can be carried out

with any degree of satisfaction unless two things become realities:

1. Public interest and sentiment must be sufficiently aroused and put into action so that ----

2. Adequate funds may be provided by community and State for the support of a more effective juvenile parole system.



APPENDIX

SCHEDULE FOR SPECIAL FOLLOW-UP STUDY OF BOYS FORMERLY ON PAROLE

Adapted by permission from, Children's Aid Association's

"Schedule for Follow-up Study"

Case No.

Date paroled

Date discharged

Name Address

Married

Date of Birth Color Legitimate
Illegitimate

I.Q.

Type of case: Family Health Behavior Personality

Original Problems:

Present Status of Problems: No. Present: Improved: Persists:

New Problems:

Education since Discharge:

Vocational: Academic:

Health:

Economic Situation:

Dependent: Marginal Comfortable

WORK HISTORY SINCE DISCHARGE

Date Beg. Date Left Exact Work Done Wages Reason Left

Employed Yes No No. of mos. out of work

Attitude of person toward work:

Court Records Since Discharge:

Date: Offence: Finding: Disposition:

Relationship to Own Family:

Relationship to Present Family:

Relationship to Boys' Parole Dept.:

Original Visitor's Opinion of Person's Ability to Depend on Self:

Original Visitor's Opinion of Personality Adjustment:

Use of Leisure Time:

Relationship to Community:

Religious Affiliations and Practices:

Evaluation of adjustment (by one person only)

1. In relation to Behavior
2. In relation to Environment
3. In relation to Health

No Problem

Improved

Unimproved

The Same

Social Service Index:

Title Page

The first part of the document is a title page. It contains the title of the document, the author's name, and the date. The title is "Title Page" and the author is "John Doe". The date is "1/1/2020".

The second part of the document is a table of contents. It lists the sections of the document and their corresponding page numbers. The sections are "Introduction", "Methodology", "Results", "Discussion", and "Conclusion". The page numbers are 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 respectively.

The third part of the document is the introduction. It provides a brief overview of the document and its purpose. It states that the document is a research paper and that it aims to explore the relationship between the variables X and Y.

The fourth part of the document is the methodology. It describes the methods used in the study, including the data collection and analysis techniques. It states that the data was collected from a sample of 100 individuals and that the analysis was performed using statistical software.

The fifth part of the document is the results. It presents the findings of the study, including the mean values for the variables X and Y and the correlation coefficient. It states that the mean value for X was 10 and for Y was 20, and that the correlation coefficient was 0.5.

The sixth part of the document is the discussion. It discusses the implications of the findings and compares them to previous research. It states that the findings are consistent with previous research and that they suggest a positive relationship between X and Y.

The seventh part of the document is the conclusion. It summarizes the main findings of the study and provides a final statement on the relationship between X and Y. It states that the study has shown a positive relationship between X and Y and that this relationship is likely to be causal.

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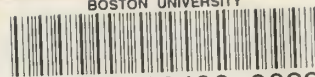
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